

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSC-05  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 DHA-02 /060 W  
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O 181504Z APR 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2959  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 2247

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: NATO, PFOR, NAC  
SUBJECT: NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) STATE 073372 (DTG 022104Z APR 77), (B) USNATO  
1800 (DTG 291830Z MAR 77)

1. THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS CIRCULATED PRELIMINARY DRAFT OF THE NATO SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE (PARA 2 BELOW) WHICH THE SPC WILL DISCUSS APRIL 19. THIS DRAFT INCORPORATES MANY OF THE SUGGESTIONS WE SUBMITTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF (PER REF A) AS WELL AS PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY OTHER DELEGATIONS. WHILE AWKWARD, AS INITIAL IS DRAFTS INEVITABLY ARE IN ATTEMPTING TO MELD DISPARATE CONTRIBUTIONS, THIS PRELIMINARY EFFORT INDICATES NO MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS FOR THE US AT THIS STAGE. THE BASIC POINTS WE SUGGESTED ARE COVERED, INCLUDING A PARAGRAPH ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THUS OUR INITIAL EFFORT WILL BE TO PRUNE, EDIT AND STRENGTHEN THE PRESENT DRAFT WHERE NECESSARY. WE WILL PURSUE THIS EFFORT IN THE APRIL 19 SPC DISCUSSION, DRAWING ON EXISTING GUIDANCE AND PRESSING FOR THE TEXTUAL CHANGES OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH 3 BELOW. WE EXPECT NUMEROUS SUGGESTIONS FROM OTHER DELEGATIONS AT THAT MEETING, CONFIDENTIAL

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INCLUDING SOME, WHICH WE WILL RESIST, LIKELY TO WORSEN THE EXISTING TEXT. WE WILL REPORT A REVISED DRAFT WITH A REQUEST FOR DETAILED GUIDANCE FOLLOWING THE APRIL 19 SPC MEETING.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MET IN LONDON ON 10TH AND 11TH MAY, 1977 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

2. THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES IN LIBERTY AND PEACE, AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CREATION OF A MORE STABLE AND NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEMBER STATES OF THE WARSAW PACT. THE ALLIES ARE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN, AND, WHERE NECESSARY, ENHANCE STILL FURTHER THE STRENGTH AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE TIES WHICH UNITE THEM.

3. ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS OF DETNETE HAS ACHIEVED SOME SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, THE SITUATION IS STILL MARKED BY INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE UNREMITTING BUILD-UP OF THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND THE STEADY INCREASE IN THEIR OFFENSIVE POWER. IN THIS UNCERTAIN WORLD, THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN ENSURING THE SECURITY OF EACH ALLY THROUGH THE COMMON ACTION OF ALL. THE ALLIED LEADERS RECOGNIZE THAT THE WILL TO UNIT THEIR EFFORTS FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENCE OBLIGES EACH OF THEM TO TAKE WHATEVER MEASURES ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A STABLE BALANCE OF FORCES AND TO ENSURE A CREDIBLE AND EFFECTIVE SHIELD FOR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. THE ALLIES SHOULD ACT IN THE CLOSEST CO-OPERATION SO THAT RESOURCES

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FOR THE COLLECTIVE DEFENCE ARE USED WITH THE MAXIMUM EFFICIENCY. THE EFFORTS REQUIRED WILL NOT BE EASY GIVEN THE INCREASING PRESSURES ON NATIONAL BUDGETS. BUT SECURITY HAS ALWAYS BEEN A NECESSARY BASIS FOR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

3A. RECALLING THEIR LONGSTANDING EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF CONFRONTATION IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, THE ALLIED LEADERS STRESS THE VITAL NEED TO REINFORCE DETENTE, NOT BY UNSUPPORTED PROTESTATIONS OF PEACEFUL INTENTIONS, BUT BY RESOLUTE EFFORTS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS IN BOTH EAST AND WEST THROUGH EQUITABLE AND BALANCED MEASURES OF DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS AS A MEANS OF ENSURING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF ARMAMENTS FOR ALL COUNTRIES CONCERNED. THEY CALL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO THE ADDITIONAL OFFER THEY MADE TO THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES IN DECEMBER 1975 WHICH WOULD ALLOW PROGRESS TOWARDS AN MBFR AGREEMENT BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES SO OFTEN RECONFIRMED BY THEIR MINISTERS. MEANWHILE THEY REAFFIRM THAT NATO FORCES SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED EXCEPT IN THE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2960  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USNATO 2247

CONTEXT OF MUTUAL AND BALANCE FORCE REDUCTION AGREEMENTS.  
(SALT)

4. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE  
ALLIANCE NOT ONLY PROTECTS MEMBER STATES AGAINST EXTERNAL  
PRESSURE AND ARMED ATTACK: IT ALSO CONSTITUTES A FACTOR  
OF STABILITY OF BENEFIT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS  
A WHOLE. CONFIDENT IN THIS SECURITY, THE ALLIES WILL  
PERSIST IN THEIR EFFORTS TO LESSEN THE TENSIONS WHICH  
DIVIDE EAST AND WEST AND TO INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE  
AREAS OF CO-OPERATION. HOWEVER, THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT  
OF DETENTE DEPENDS ON THE READINESS OF ALL CONCERNED TO  
SHOW MODERATION AND SELF-RESTRAINT IN ALL AREAS OF  
RELATIONS WHETHER IN EUROPE OR IN OTHER PARTS OF THE  
WORLD. (BERLINE)

5. THE ALLIED LEADERS ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO FULL  
COMPLIANCE BY SIGNATORY GOVERNMENTS WITH ALL THE  
PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT,  
WHICH PROVIDE GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE  
IN MANY ASPECTS. THEY WELCOME THE LIMITED PROGRESS  
ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, BUT  
UNDERLINE THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE SO THAT THE  
BENEFITS OF THE FINAL ACT CAN BE FELT BOTH IN INTER-STATE  
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RELATIONS AND ALSO IN THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS. THE  
FORTHCOMING MEETINGS IN BELGRADE WILL PROVIDE AN  
IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH AND OBJECTIVE  
REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, AS WELL AS FOR CONSIDERING HOW  
FURTHER PROGRESS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED. THE AIM OF THE  
ALLIES WILL BE POSITIVE: TO ENCOURAGE AND ACCELERATE  
PROGRESS BY ALL PARTICIPANTS TOWARDS FULL IMPLEMENTATION,  
AND THEREBY TO PROMOTE THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. THE  
ALLIES INTEND TO MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE

MEETINGS, AND TO WORK FOR AN OUTCOME WHICH WILL BE BENEFICIAL TO ALL THE PARTICIPATING STATES AND TO THEIR PEOPLE.

6. DEDICATED AS THEY ARE TO PRESERVING AND DEEPENING DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES, THE ALLIED LEADERS RECOGNIZE THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY AND WELL-BEING OF THE INDIVIDUAL, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMITMENTS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNMENTS IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, IS AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR PEACE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES.

7. RECOGNIZING THE VITALITY AND VIGOUR SHOWN BY THE ALLIANCE OVER THE YEARS, THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THEIR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THEIR CLOSE ASSOCIATION AND COHESION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, AND ON THAT FIRM FOUNDATION TO CONTINUE THEIR ENDEAVOUR TO BUILD A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE.

END TEXT.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE  
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3. BEGIN CHANGES WE WILL URGE AT THE APRIL 19 SPC MEETING:

1. NO CHANGE.

2. (REVISE IS DRAFT TO READ AS FOLLOWS:)

THE ALLIED LEADERS REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF THEIR COUNTRIES IN LIBERTY AND PEACE. THE ALLIES ARE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE TIES WHICH UNITED THEM. THEIR UNITY IN STRENGTH MAKES POSSIBLE THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE.

3. (REVISE IS DRAFT TO READ AS FOLLOWS:)

ALTHOUGH SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN ATTAINED IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY PERSIST. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE UNREMITTING GROWTH IN THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND PARTICULARLY THEIR OFFENSIVE POWER. THUS, ALLIED LEADERS RECOGNIZE THAT UNFLAGGING COLLECTIVE EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE COMMON DEFENSE REQUIRE BOTH COLLECTIVE WILL AND THE DETERMINATION OF EACH

ALLY TO TAKE THE MEASURES NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE, EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT SHIELD FOR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT, GIVEN THE DEMANDS ON THEIR RESOURCES, THIS TASK WILL BE DIFFICULT, BUT THEY ARE PREPARED TO ASSUME THE BURDENS ENTAILED.

3A. (AMEND PARA 4 OF IS DRAFT AS FOLLOWS:)  
THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE,  
IN ADDITION TO ENHANCING GLOBAL STABILITY, ALSO PROVIDES

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 2247

THE STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE THAT ENABLES THE ALLIES TO PERSERVE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DIMINISH THE TENSIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND TO INCREASE PROGRESSIVELY THE AREAS OF COOPERATION. HOWEVER, THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF DETENTE DEPENDS ON THE READINESS OF ALL CONCERNED TO SHOW MODERATION AND SELF-RESTRAINT IN ALL AREAS OF RELATIONS WHETHER IN EUROPE OR IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

3B. BEGINNING "RECALLING THEIR LONG-STANDING EFFORTS"  
WITH REMAINDER OF IS PARA 3 UNCHANGED.

4. (REVISE PARA 5 OF IS DRAFT AS FOLLOWS:)  
THE ALLIED LEADERS ALSO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO FULL COMPLIANCE BY SIGNATORY GOVERNMENTS WITH ALL THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THEY WELCOME THE LIMITED PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN CERTAIN FIELDS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT, BUT UNDERLINE THAT MUCH STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE SO THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT WILL BENEFIT BOTH RELATIONS AMONG STATES AND ALSO IN THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS. THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS IN BELGRADE WILL PROVIDE AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY FOR A THOROUGH AND OBJECTIVE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, AS WELL AS FOR CONSIDERING HOW  
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FURTHER PROGRESS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED. (REMAINDER OF  
PARAPGRAPH HAS NO CHANGE.)

5. (BERLIN)

6. BEGIN PARA WITH PHRASE "CONSCIOUS AS THEY ARE OF  
DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING HUMAN RIGHTS, AND..." NO  
FURTHER CHANGE.

7. NO CHANGE.

END PROPOSED CHANGES.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE

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## Message Attributes

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